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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of principal "burn out" is the result of many conditions surrounding the principalship. First, as the number of students has risen over the last 40 years, the number of schools has declined. Too, teachers have become better educated and more specialized, making them less ready to accept the opinions and direction of principals. Since the 1930s the curriculum has become more complex, with more special education and categorical programs. Control of the schools has diversified, with power being divided among many central office staff members, the courts, federal and state governments, and the community. Because of this diversification, it is sometimes difficult for the principal to know where to look for direction, and role clarification is badly needed. In recent years, the education profession, once united, has split into distinct groups: teachers (labor), superintendents (management), and school principals (caught in the middle). To create a situation where the principal can reasonably be expected to carry out the responsibilities of the role, these conditions surrounding the principalship must be changed. (Author/JM)

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# The New Mexico Principalship Study

## PART I

## Factors Affecting the Principalship Yesterday and Today

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1. Introduction

This section of the report on the principalship explores the current conditions surrounding that office. There is little doubt that a great deal of dissatisfaction with the role is being expressed across the country. This dissatisfaction is expressed both by the role incumbents and by others who interact in one way or another with the principal. The wide spread concern is, in actuality, a deepening concern with the nature of schools but frequently focuses upon the principal as the chief executive officer of the school.

Discontent with the current status of schools emanates from parents, legislatures, school boards, staff employees and even teachers and principals themselves. The concerns range from financial matters to discipline and vandalism, to a basic unease that students are not acquiring the basic skills and knowledge necessary for productive lives in society. As these concerns have erupted into altered expectations for schools, the principals often find themselves a center of discontent. The following quotation from Newsweek (March 13, 1978) signifies the level of national concern and further depicts the stress created for those who occupy the principal's office. The article is entitled "Burn-Out Principals."

> Across the nation, high school principals in growing numbers are deciding that the personal and financial rewards of their careers are far outweighed by the huge sacrifices of time and energy they must make. In a recent survey of 1,600 principals conducted by the University of Utah professors fully one-fourth said they intended to quit, some to leave education entirely. Worse yet, the very best principals are quitting at an even higher rate. At the beginning of the survey, researchers singled out 60 exceptional principals. A year later, one-third of this special group had resigned.

The introductory paragraphs of this section of the report are intended to suggest that the current situation nationally is one in which expectations for and about "good schools" are shifting rapidly and the focus of these altered and sometimes competing expectations is frequently the principal's office. A consequence of the intensity of these altered expectations has been principal "burn-out."

2. Identified Factors

It is important to identify and understand those factors which have made it increasingly difficult for principals to meet the role expectations held for them in the 1970's. Clearly principals have been expected to lead and to actively play out the role of instructional leader. This expectation has its roots in earlier times and in earlier titles such as "Head Master." The title implies power-authority and expertness and we might well attribute to the title of principal the expectation that the office holder is the main or first and best teacher available to lead the school as it seeks to accomplish its mission.

The expectation that principal is a person who possess sufficient power-authority and expertness to lead the instructional program is one in which most readers of this report and the author as well, grew up with. Even though times and conditions have changed, we are persistant in our expectations. In order to examine how the conditions have changed, the author wishes to direct the reader's attention to several selected factors: (1) Size; (2) Professionalization of Educators; (3) Program Complexity; (4) Diversification of Control; and, (5) Bifurcation of the Profession. The factors were derived following a review of literature, discussions with school administrators and personal observation.

2.1 Size

We have all grown comfortable with the fact that the educational enterprise has grown. No one will be surprised that along with everything else, schools have gotten bigger. Just how big deserves some attention.

In 1931-32 the student population at the elementary school level stood at 21,278,000; by 1970-71 that population had burgeoned to 32,597,000. That is to say the elementary school age population had increased by 53%. What is startling is not the growth in numbers of the population, but rather that we have actually reduced the number of schools to serve that population. In the base years 1931-32, the country had established 232,750 elementary schools. By 1970-71 we had reduced that number to 65,800. In other words, a net decrease of 72%. To repeat--in the time span under consideration, the elementary school age population increased by 53% while the number of schools available to service them decreased by 72%. The school had become much larger (see Figure 1.).[1,2]

At the secondary school level, a similar phenomena occurred. In comparison, the period 1931-32 had 4, 399,000 students attending public secondary schools. By 1970-71, the number attending had ballooned to 13,022,000. The number of students attending secondary schools had increased 196%. Simultaneously, the number of secondary schools in

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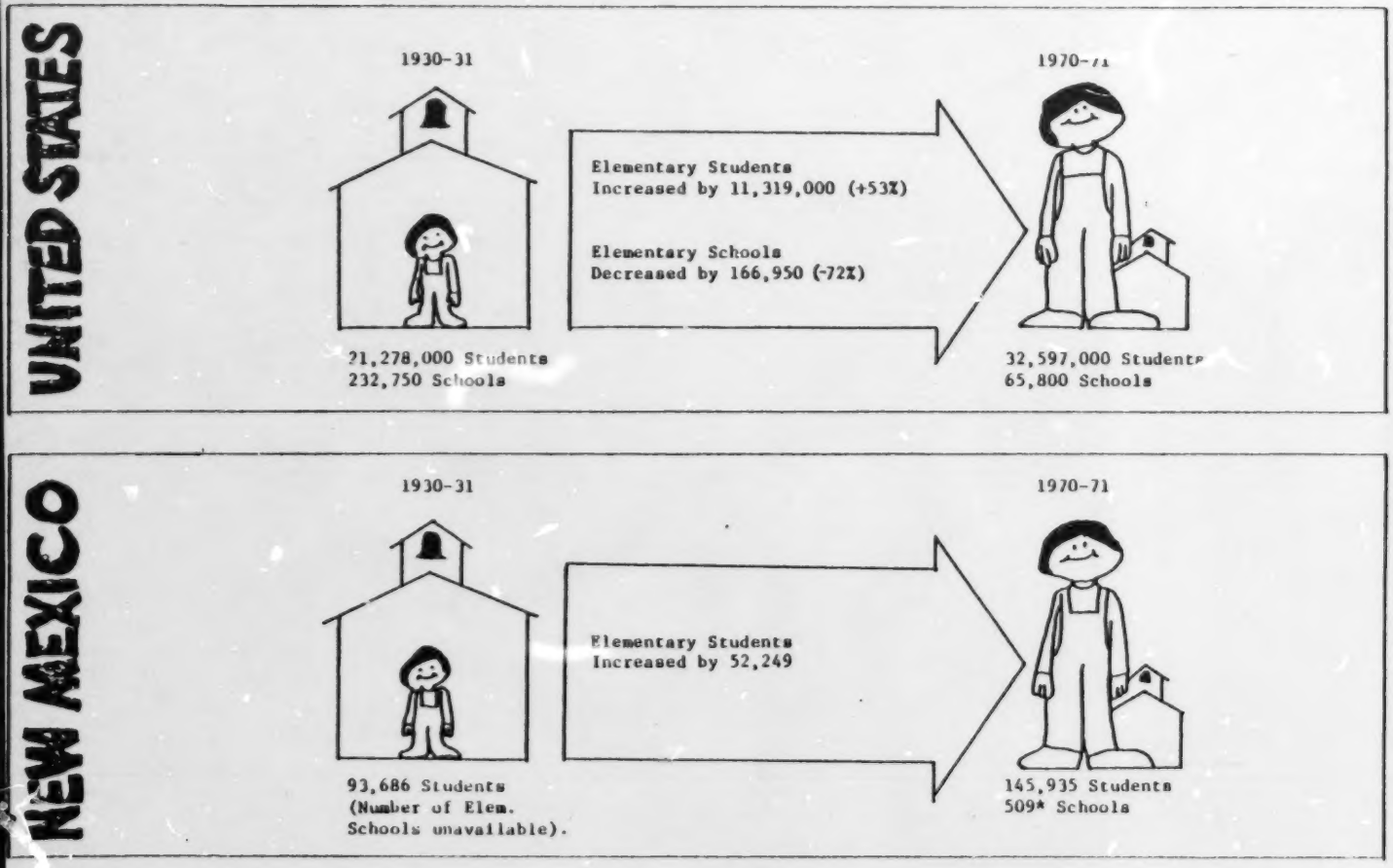
[1]National Center for Educational Statistics. Digest of educational statistics, 1970 edition. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971, p.2.

[2]National Center for Educational Statistics. Digest of educational statistics, 1971 edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972, p.45.

Figure 1

Relationship between Elementary School Enrollment and the Number of Elementary Schools, United States and New Mexico, 1930-31 and 1970-71




*K-6 Elementary and Junior High/Middle Schools

the country fell from 26,409 to 25,352 or a 4% decrease. To repeat--while the secondary school population grew by 196%, the number of schools serving them fell by 4% (see Figure 2).[3, 4]

Given the factual reminder about just how large schools have become in comparison to schools in the 30's, it is also necessary to examine the size factor in relationship to the organizational context in which these schools reside. In the comparison period of 1930 to 1970, the total school population had grown from 25,677,000 to 45,619,000--an increase of 78%. During this same period, the number of school districts in the nation had also been radically altered. In 1931-32 the country had 127,531 school districts. By 1970-71 the number of school districts had sharply decreased to 17,995, a net reduction of 86%. During the time span under consideration, the total school population had increased by 78% while the number of school districts had decreased by 86% (see Figure 3).[5]

In New Mexico, the pattern was similar to that occurring nationally. In 1930-31 New Mexico had established 838 rural and municipal districts. New Mexico now operates only 88 school districts. New Mexico reduced the number of school districts by 89%. In the base period New Mexico enrolled a total school population of 108,099. By 1970-71 this figure had risen to 281,211 or an increase of 160%. To repeat--while New Mexico

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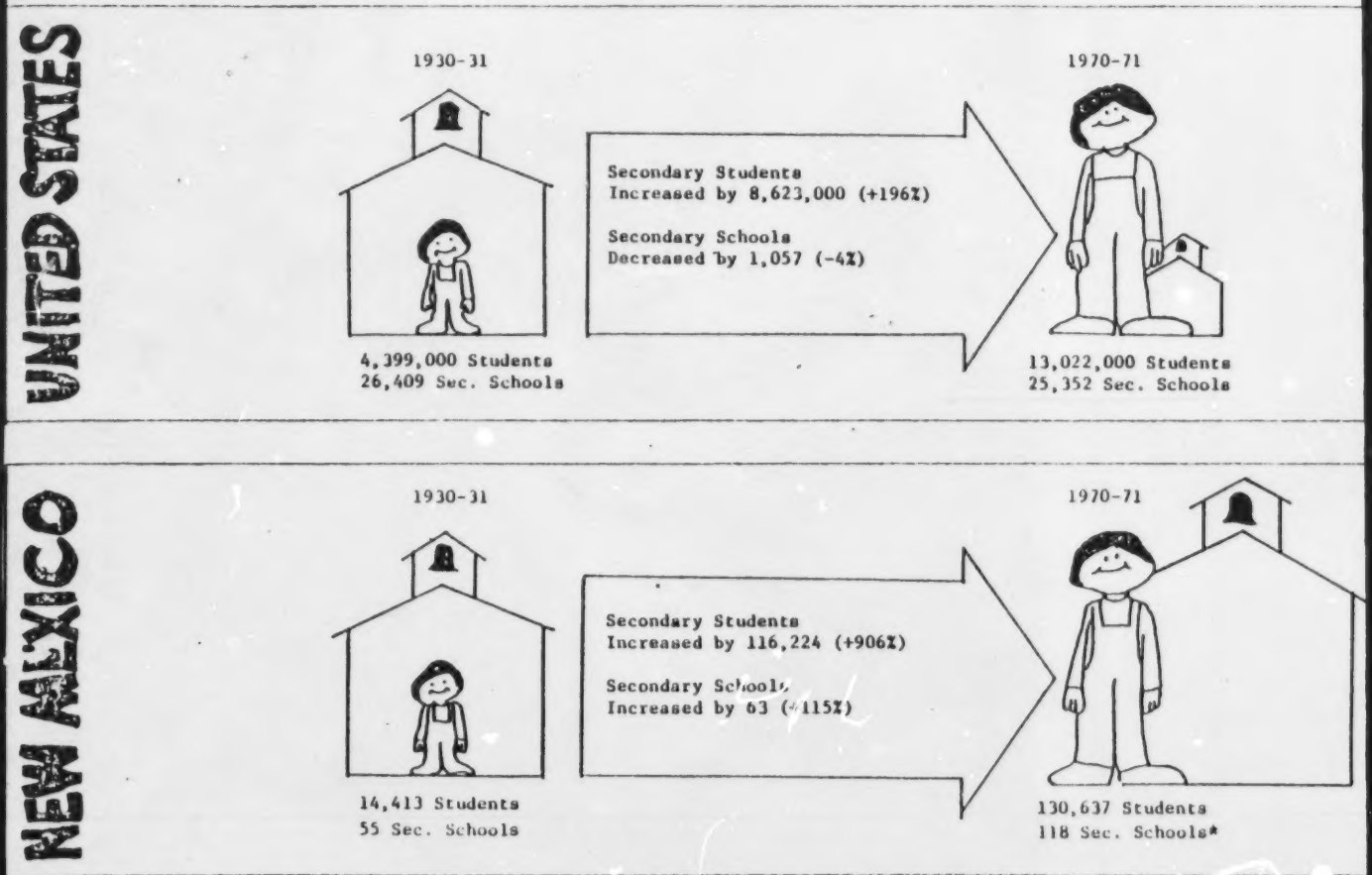
[3]Digest of educational statistics (1970 edition), p. 2.

[4]Digest of educational statistics (1971 edition), p. 45.

[5]Sher, J. P. & Tompkins, R. B. Economy, efficiency, and equality: The myths of rural school and district consolidation. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1976.

Figure 2

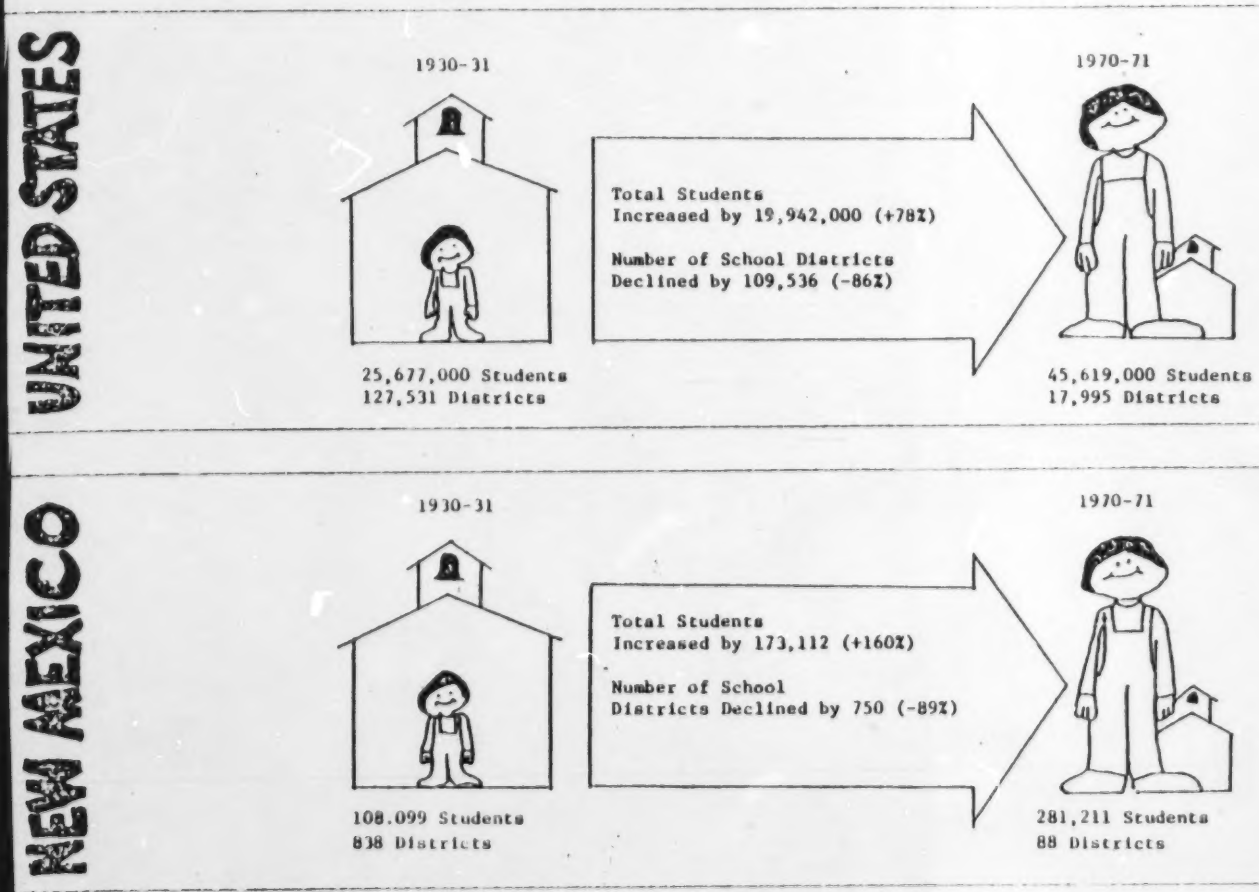
Relationship between Secondary School Enrollment and the Number of Secondary Schools, United States and New Mexico, 1930-31 and 1970-71




*Includes 111 straight high schools/middle schools and 7 evening schools

Figure 3

Relationship between Total Public School Enrollment and Number of School Districts, United States and New Mexico, 1930-31 and 1970-71



reduced the number of school districts by 89% the student population grew by 160% (see Figures 1, 2, 3).[6, 7, 8]

The figures regarding the drastic reduction of the number of school districts both nationally and in New Mexico speak to the increased size of the organizational context in which schools exist in the 70's. Not only are schools drastically larger but so are the organizational settings in which they exist. The average principal in the 30's administered a much smaller school and the school he administered was lodged in a much smaller district organization. Indeed, with some frequency, the principal was also superintendent and teacher. There are other implications of the size factor which bear on the principalship and those will be dealt with in the summary of this section of this report. Suffice it to say, that the principal of the 70's is administering a much larger school within a much larger organizational context.

2.2 Professionalization of the Educator

One of the characteristics of professionals is that they expect to exercise independent judgment based upon their acquired specialized knowledge. The coordination of large groups of professionals is at the

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[6]Lusk, G.L. Education directory 1930-31. Santa Fe: State Department of Education, 1930.

[7]Lusk, G.L. Report of the State Superintendent of Instruction for the period July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1931. Santa Fe: State Department of Education, 1931, pp. 59, 70.

[8]DeLayo, L.J. & Borgrink, H.F. State of New Mexico annual statistical report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the period July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971. Santa Fe: State Department of Education, 1971, p. 30.

very least, a complex task, and even more complex is the task of providing such groups leadership.

The professionalization of education has occurred on a massive scale. In the comparison period of 1930-31, approximately 12% of the teachers employed at the elementary school level were college graduates.[9] Approximately 29% of the teachers at the senior high school level had completed one year of graduate work.[10] We have moved from a point in time when elementary school teachers were rarely college graduates and less than a third of secondary school teachers had completed one year of graduate work. In the 1970's, we find it not uncommon that states require the master degree as a minimum requirement for permanent certification at both the elementary and secondary school levels. We have moved in a relatively short period of time from the normal school to the graduate school.

One effect of this increased professionalism on the part of teachers has been to erode a traditional base of the principal's authority. In the comparison period of the 1930's, the principal could be looked to as "one who knew best" by less experienced and less well trained teachers. In his community, he could confidently act as spokesman for the teachers. In the 70's, it has become more and more difficult for the principal to act out his traditional leadership role from a base of expertness. The principal in the 70's is surrounded with faculty members who are as

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[9] Tyack, D.B. (Ed.) Turning points in American educational history, Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967, p. 450.

[10] Ibid.

experienced and as well educated as he/she is. The propensity of teachers to view the principal as "one who knows best" has been substantially eroded.

In addition the principal's ability to lead in the traditional sense has been effected by the general rise in the level of education of the public who is being served by the school. In the comparison period the school principal could expect that his formal education would considerably exceed that of most of the community. In 1940, at the end of the comparison period, 38.1% of adults between the ages of 25-29 were high school graduates.[11] By 1975, 83.1% of that age group were high school graduates.[12] Being a high school graduate no longer placed one above the mean of the community in formal education. In 1940, 5.9% of those adults between the ages of 25-29 were college graduates. By 1975, 21.9% of that age group were college graduates. Being a college graduate no longer placed the principal in a social role as distinctive as that during the 1930's.

The education profession made deliberate attempts to keep the level of training of the school administrators moving ahead of that required of teachers and that of the general population. If successful, that attempt could have resulted in sustaining the principal's leadership role to the extent that that role was based on being perceived as "knowing best," i.e., being more expert than both teachers and the public in the arena of education. This thrust resulted in an evolution

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[11]Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. Statistical abstract of the United States (97th edition). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 115.

[12]Ibid.

of more and more demanding requirements for certification as a school administrator. As teacher certification moved from the normal school to the bachelor degree to the masters degree, the administrative requirements moved to the post-masters level.

The movement to extend administrative preparation to the sixth year level was strongly supported by the American Association of School Administrators. In 1959, AASA adopted the following resolution:

> Beginning on January 1, 1964, all new members of the American Association of School Administrators shall submit evidence of successful completion of two (2) years of graduate study in university programs designed to prepare school administrators and approved by an accreditation body endorsed by the Executive Committee of AASA (p. 277).

New Mexico was no exception to the national trend and the state moved to sixth year certification.

In addition to the problems created by an increasingly educated population and a diminishing gap between the formal training of teachers and the administrators, the school principal is now being confronted with an increasingly experienced staff. Teacher turnover has slowed dramatically resulting in a decrease in the difference between the teachers' level of experience and the principal's experience level, somewhat eroding the principal's ability to act from a "knowing best" leader stance given the high valuing of experience amongst educators.

A third factor which can be said to have eroded the principals ability to lead in the more traditional fashion has been the increasing specialization of teachers themselves. Instructional leadership becomes more tenuous when one is surrounded by a staff of highly specialized educators. At an earlier point in time, secondary teachers held general certificates and a single certificate sufficed at the

elementary level. The current degree of specialization required of teaching staffs is reflected in the New Mexico Certification Requirements published by the New Mexico State Department of Education, May, 1978. The handbook is 70 pages long and details a large number of specialized certificates. The category "Miscellaneous Endorsements on Teaching Certificates"[13] alone lists the following specializations:

1. AV Specialist
2. Driver Education
3. Teaching English as a Second Language
4. Speech Pathologist
5. Library Science
6. Language Arts
7. Social Studies
8. Vocational Certificate with Area Endorsements
9. Vocational Rehabilitation

In addition, one may find specialized requirements for

1. Teacher Aide I
2. Teacher Aide II
3. Elementary Counselor
4. Secondary Counselor
5. School Nurse
6. Social Worker
7. Special Education Categorical Areas
   a. Communicating impaired child
   b. Hard of hearing/deaf child
   c. Visually impaired/blind child
   d. Gifted child
   e. Learning disabled child
   f. Child with behavioral disorders
   g. Physically handicapped
   h. Mentally retarded child

The above listing is not exhaustive of the distinct areas of specialization reflected in the certification requirements of the State of New Mexico.

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[13]New Mexico State Department of Education. New Mexico Certification Requirements. Santa Fe: Author, May, 1978, pp. 39-57.

The current condition which the principal encounters presents a considerable challenge to act out a role of instructional leadership. The gap between his own experience and training and that of his teaching staff has been substantively reduced. Even at the elementary school level, he may well have, for example, a specially certified expert in reading instruction who is more expert than the principal regarding educational methodology. The erosion of personal expertness on the part of the principal can be said to have reduced his ability to lead in the conventional sense.

English and Zaharis (1970) sum up this condition concisely:

> They find themselves barraged by the increasing teacher specialization, which has eroded much of their technical authority that formerly was their sole domain--and they find themselves pressured by expanding centralization in the form of directors, consultants, supervisors, coordinator specialists, etc. (pp. 1-10).

This latter effect, increasing control from outside the school, will be elaborated upon in the sections which follow.

## 2.3 Program Complexity

One cannot avoid focusing upon changes not only in the size of schools and the increased professionalization and specialization of the staff, but also upon the increased program complexity which is intertwined with the previously mentioned factors. We have required larger schools and more specialization because we are educating larger numbers of students whose needs are increasingly diverse. Since the comparison period of the 1930's, the school population has changed dramatically and hence the programs to serve them have also been drastically altered.

We have moved from a period of time when the school population was a relatively homogeneous group to a time when the school population

more fully reflects the complexity of the larger society which surrounds the school. In 1930, 28.8% of students 17 years old were graduating from high school. By 1970, 75.6% of students 17 years old were graduating from high schools.[14] Who was in school in 1970 had changed dramatically from 1930. Those who were previously dropping out were staying in. The graduating students in 1970 were a far more heterogenous group than the students graduating in 1930.

For each 1,000 students who entered the fifth grade in 1930-31, 417 or 41.7% graduated from high school. Of each 1,000 students who entered the fifth grade in 1962, 752 or 75.2% graduated from high school.[15] We can expect that the percentage of students who entered the fifth grade in 1970 and who will graduate this year will have increased even further. Each year the students in the schools become increasingly diverse.

One of the most obvious sources of this increased diversity are students classified as exceptional. Special education enrollemnts in 1932 are listed as 164,000. By 1970, the special education enrollment had grown to 3,158,000, an increase of 1,825.6%.[16] These numbers have grown even higher since 1970. The principal of the 1970's administers programs to youngsters who were not previously served by schools.

The census data of 1970 continues to give a picture of teh increasing diversity of students attending the public schools. In 1940, the

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[14]Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. Historical statistics of the United States: Colonial times to present. (Bicentennial edition), (Part 1--Education Series H412-787) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, p.379

[15]Ibid., p. 372

[16]Ibid., p. 380

median number of years of school completed for males was 8.3; by 1970, the figure had risen to 12.2 years. The comparative figures for females were 8.5 increasing in 1970 to 12.1. For the category "Negro and other," the census data reports that in 1940 males were completing 5.4 median number of years; by 1970 the figure had risen to 9.8. For females in the minority category the figures rise from 6.1 in 1940 to 10.3 school years completed in 1970. Students who previously did not attend school at all for any significant number of years, i.e., the handicapped and the majority and minority students who previously completed only the early grades, are now attending school and the school's programs have become increasingly complex, requiring more and more administrative time, skill and effort.

It can be said that we have moved from a single, one track curriculum attending to the needs of a rather homogeneous group of students to a two track system of the 40's and 50's reflecting the academic and vocational areas of the comprehensive high school-onward to an infinite number of tracks in the 60's and early 70's, represented by the modular scheduling of high schools and the open concept of elementary schools. The complexity of the curriculum and ancillary programs of the 1970's cannot be overemphasized when compared with the curriculum of earlier years which served a far more unitary student population.

The demands on an administrator's time have been substantially increased. A look at the staffing pattern of a 1970's elementary school emphasizes the notion of the complexity. The elementary school described here for illustrative purposes is staffed by:

1. 23.5 FTE classroom teachers grades K-6
2. 8.8 FTE special teachers (Library--Art--PE--Music--Guidance--Learning Disabled--Special Education--Speech Clinician--Nurse)
3. 7.5 FTE instructional aides

4. 5.70 other staff including secretaries, custodians, student interns and other aides

The principal, in addition to the above, also meets regularly with the eight bus drivers servicing his school. Conceiving the school as being composed of a principal and classroom teachers clearly oversimplifies the matter. It is not rare, I am afraid, for the "regular" classroom teachers to be out-numbered by the ancillary staff and specialized teachers. It is this more complex organizational setting which the principal is called upon to administer.

2.4 Diversification of Control

The history of education in this country has been one which has emphasized the local control of schools. If any one historical aspect of education in this country has been unique in the world, it has been our reliance upon the local lay control of schools. No parallel to this history is to be found in other countries where education has been a function of the national government. Our history has been one of local and very immediate control of the schools through lay boards, and it was this context in which the principal traditionally operated. School superintendents emerged as clerks to the boards. Boards administered the schools directly. The districts were small and the number of board members large. Teachers and administrators were generally required to live within the districts who employed them. The selection process and the visibility of the educators in the communities tended to insure a homogeneity of expectations about what was to be taught and how it was to be taught. Who was in control was clear to the educators and the direction they were to take was clear. According to Ziegler,

Tucker and Wilson (1977), this condition prevailed prior to the turn of the century.

> In Pittsburg, for example, the school system consisted of 38 sub-district boards. Each board possessed authority to levy taxes and to appoint administrative and teaching personnel. The central board, composed of one representative from each sub-district was relatively powerless. The socioeconomic status of sub-district boards was roughly congruent with the status of sub-district populations (p. 535).

Under these conditions control was clear and direct as it operated upon the principal. Ziegler et. al., suggests that by the turn of the century and clearly during the comparison period of the 1930's, control of the schools had shifted considerably. The growing professionalism had led to an increased reliance upon expertness.

> By 1920 the norm of school board non-participation in administration had become so pervasive that superintendents would protest as encroachment lay influence which would have been customary before the turn of the century (p. 536).

The shift to control by experts and the growth of the schools led to the appointment of more experts and the elaboration of central office staff--the clarity of control and direction for the school principal was beginning to blur. By the 1950's, changes of an equally significant magnitude were beginning to occur. The Brown decision of 1954 was symbolic of changes to come which would erode the ability of local educators to control schools. Court decisions followed court decisions and federal agencies began the promulgation of rules and regulations affecting the daily operations of the schools. The Office of Civil Rights (OCR), The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Title IX, Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) all exert direct influence upon the daily operation of the school.

Court decisions, new laws enacted by congress and state legislatures, and the active promulgation of rules and regulations serve to diversify the control of schools. Rather than looking to one or two sources for direction, the principal must now look to all points of the compass. Ziegler et al. (1977) contends that school bureaucracies grew in size in order to deal with other bureaucracies, in essence creating more and more "officials" who to some degree possessed a thin slice of the control exerted upon the individual school.

Bill Hambrick, an elementary principal and President of the National Association of Elementary School Principals (1978), expresses the frustration accumulating around the diversification of control:

> In the past decade HEW had started on a data-collecting kick. The OCR for #102 requires records that no one ever kept or had good reason to keep. And in the recent proposal the United States Department of Agriculture wanted each meal served at a school with federal funding to be counted in three of thirty possible ways. (p. 10)

Hambrick continues into what becomes a somewhat plaintive theme:

> This year, from the bowels of the bureaucracy has come the idea that Title I personnel cannot participate in the initial screening for placement in a Title I class. Then who will do it? (p. 10)

The principal of the 70's is faced with diverse demands from federal and state sources, and in addition, is faced with an increased local bureaucracy created to deal with external bureaucracies. The personnel at the school level are increasingly looking beyond and around the principal for direction--school custodians may be more concerned about receiving direction from the director of maintenance than from the principal. The cafeteria worker, in turn, may look to a director or coordinator of cafeteria services. The special education teacher may look to the special education coordinator for direction rather than to the principal.

Counselors may look around the principal to a guidance expert. Bilingual education teachers may look around the principal to their counterpart in the district or state office. Both certified and non-certified personnel have lines of authority imposed upon them from sources other than the principal who is expected to be, at least nominally, in charge of the school.

The principal of the 70's, in comparison with the principal of the 30's, is confronted with a kaleidoscope of demands for control. Not only is his behavior directed by state and federal courts, increasingly complex state and federal laws, rules and regulations of a complex array of government agencies, but he is now also confronted with an increasingly diverse community whose formal or informal advisory groups direct him in sometimes incompatible directions. The older and rather well established expectation that the principal serves as "instructional leader" becomes less viable as control over the affairs of the school become more and more diffuse. In an address to the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1974, Richard A. Dols noted that principals of an earlier era had been selected as having been master teachers and that the "master teacher has become the master administrator with daily pressures from every direction concerning the operation of the school" (p. 1).

The recent study of "The Effective School Principal" by Gaton and McIntyre (1978) reports that "when asked what was needed to make the job of principal more manageable and effective, the principals most frequently cited role clarification as the number one need." In addition, the report indicates that over one-half of those principals classified as effective did not intend to stay in the role. One can speculate that job

satisfaction is low for a large number of even effective school principals and that the role has become more and more ambiguous as control becomes more and more diversified.

2.5 Bifurcation of the Profession

In earlier, more comfortable times, educators stood under a single umbrella and administrators had a firm grip on the umbrella handle.[17] The profession was unified. Administrators effectively represented the profession. Superintendents were generally seen as the profession's spokesmen to the community and the school principal represented his faculty's interests both to the superintendent and to the local community. School administrators held significant policy making roles at the national level in the National Education Association. It was not unusual for an aspiring educator to work him/herself upward through the local teachers association, gaining visibility and experience which would serve to enhance movement into an administrative position. Serving as chairman of the local association's salary committee was a viable step toward an administrative position.

These times no longer prevail for an aspiring administrative candidate would instinctively recognize that heading the salary negotiations for teachers, while providing visibility and experience, would no longer be a wise way up the administrative ladder. The unified profession led by a school administrator no longer exists. The differences between teachers and administrators have always been present. Wilbur

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[17]Iannaccone, L. Politics in education. New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1967, p. 24.

S. Jackman, advocating the unionization of teachers in 1905, spoke to the limited role teachers were playing in schools:

> This all rested upon the eternally old theory that there is one part of the race that has a monopoly of all the sense and all the conscience to which the officials of the administration belong, and another portion of the race that has neither sense nor conscience, to which the teachers belong. And so one class, as though by divine right, assumed to dominate the other.

Though Wilbur Jackman and others were refusing to recognize the utility of the single umbrella, he and others remained only a vocal minority. It was not until the 1960's that the American Federation of Teachers effectively carried out Jackman's belief and tore asunder the old agreements. The National Education Association followed slowly, moving to limit the influence of school administrators amongst its membership. In 1969, with the recognition of the strike as a legitimate means of organizational influence, NEA had moved 180 degrees from its previous position that such behavior was indeed not ethical for professionals.[18] The organization adopted a constitutional revision in 1973 which insured that at least 75% of the membership of any NEA committee and governing body would be classroom teachers.[19] According to McDonnell (1976), the discomfort created for administrators led to their exodus from the NEA:

> School administrator groups, traditionally affiliated with the NEA, severed organizational ties in 1973 and few individual administrators have felt it in their interest to remain in the association. (p. 201)

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[18]National Education Association, NEA Resolutions, 1969, Today's Education, October, 1969, 58-7, p. 76.

[19]National Education Association, The NEA handbook, 1974-75, Washington, D.C.: Author, 1974, p. 160.

School administrators had effectively been removed from formal leadership positions in the largest national professional association, and excluded from the organization's chief competitor, the American Federation of Teachers. Superintendents and other administrators were no longer perceived as the spokesmen for the profession. They were now the "Boards' Men." With the teachers increasingly a group to themselves, and the superintendents increasingly the boards' men, school principals became the men in the middle.

Articles appeared in the 1970's arguing whether or not principals are members of the management team or whether they are more appropriately supervisory personnel grouped with teachers. In the National Association of Secondary School Principals' Bulletin (1977), Joseph A. Coccia argues that principals are not members of middle management, while Norma Barea argues that they are. The existence of the article in and of itself is strong evidence of the no man's land in which principals now stand. The issue has also taken on legal aspects, moving from the philosophic area to the courts.

As principals have sought to defend their status, they have attempted to form independent bargaining units. The principals perceive that issues affecting the daily operation of their schools are being decided through negotiated contracts with teachers bargaining directly with boards. Working hours, class size, grievance procedures, in-service training and more are decided in these direct negotiations, while the principals stand anxiously on the sidelines. In an attempt to ameliorate this situation, principals are attempting to organize as separate bargaining units. In most states, the law provides for the exclusion of administrators from organizing for the purpose of bargaining.

Supervisory personnel, however, are not excluded from forming such units. The legal determination of who are administrators and who are supervisory personnel has hinged in substance on the degree of involvement in policy determination.

Wollett and Chanin (1973) succinctly state the problem:

> The most recent cases indicate that total exclusion from representation will be limited to those employees who participate in a meaningful way in the formulation or effectuation of employer policies with respect to employee relations. (p. 270)

As of 1975, principals in 24 states had succeeded in having themselves defined as non-managerial personnel. By that year, 1,276 organized administrative/supervisory unions had come into existence.[20]

In July of 1976, the American Federation of School Administrators was founded in New York City, "representing principals, assistant principals, directors, and supervisors."[21] This AFL-CIO affiliate includes 52 locals in the following areas: New York City, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Washington, and Suffolk County, New York.

The principal in the comparison period of the 1930's was in a very different position in regard to leadership than the principal of the 1970's. During the comparison period, movement up the administrative ladder was acknowledged as movement up the professional ladder. The principal of the 1970's finds far less recognition. Principals are likely to be perceived as having moved "out" of the profession rather than upward in it. The current position clearly had eroded the

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[20]Cooper, B. C. Collective bargaining comes to school middle management, The KAPPAN, October 1976, pp. 202-204.

[21]Ibid.

principals ability to "lead" his faculty in the older more traditional sense of the word.

3. Summary

In this opening section of the report, five factors impinging upon the role of the school principal have been discussed. Recognition of these factors: Size; Professionalization; Diversification of Control; Program Complexity; and, Bifurcation of the Profession leads to some understanding of the difficulty faced by principals in acting out the role of "instructional leader." Recognition of the factors also tends to explain the evolution of the principal's role to one of manager of a complex organization. Text books in school administration carry titles such as "The New School Executive"[22] or "Essentials of School Management,"[23] and training programs for school administrators draw heavily upon the same literature utilized by Schools of Business and Administrative Sciences or Schools of Public Administration. The training institutions are being asked to draw even more heavily upon managerial techniques in recognition of the complexity of the tasks confronting the principal of the 70's.

There is no doubt that increasingly, the principal is being called upon once again to exert instructional leadership. In this author's opinion, what is being asked for by various interest groups is that the principal exert leadership to insure that the school's program is

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[22]Sergiovanni, T. J. & Carver, F. D. The new school executive. New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1973.

[23]Landers, T. J. & Myers, J. G. Essentials of school management. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1977.

a unitary whole once again. The public and some parts of the profession are again expecting that the principal be "in-charge." To create a situation where the principal and reasonably be expected to carry out this expectation will require some basic changes in the factors described in this section of the report. It will not be sufficient to call for braver men and women to occupy the role. What is called for are conditions where reasonable men and women may be expected to be effective.

We are now confronting an opportunity to effect the size factor. With declining enrollment, we will have the opportunity to create smaller schools. The outcome is not automatic, as we may also choose to place larger numbers of students in fewer school plants. We must reexamine our beliefs about the economies of scale and examine the unintended consequences of even larger schools in even larger districts.

In addition, there are indication that we may have overvalued program complexity. Questions are now being raised as to whether the assumption that more alternatives for student program design are always better. Is it inherently better to offer five ways rather than three to meet an English requirement? It would be helpful to consider each alternative and decide whether or not the value derived is, in an overall sense, worth the cost of increasing the organizational complexity and the risk of creating an unmanageable curriculum.

The same questions need to be raised about the value of increased specialization. Are the anticipated benefits of having large numbers of specialized personnel dealing with students what we expected them to be? As the number of specialists increase, the managerial task may exceed the ability of most reasonable men and women. In this case the student becomes a participant in what James March has described as

"Organized Anarchy."[24] In essence, no specialist may feel responsible for the wholeness of the child, and the principal may feel unable to maintain control of a cohesive and whole curriculum.

There are some indications that the society surrounding the schools may be once again developing a new concern about what schools are for. The back to the basics movement is one such indicant. Should a consensus re-emerge, one result could well be a return to a more coherent system of control. It can be said that the current diversification of control has emerged from conditions of low trust and low agreement about what schools are for. Any coalesence around this question may mean clearer direction for those who occupy the principal's office. It seems important that educators attempt to assist both their local, state and national committees in hastening the clarification process. Maintenance of the current diversification of control is probably not organizationally possible. Principals have been referred to as "the guardians of the school house." Under the current conditions, principals run the risk of being so distracted by the multiple sources of external control that they may fail in their guardianship.

The final factor, the bifurcation of the profession, may also lose potency in the coming years. One can only speculate whether or not we will emerge once again with a single education profession. The principalship of the 1970's has become a more ambiguous role than heretofore. Efforts to reduce the ambiguity are being made. It is the author's

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[24]March, J. G. Analytical skills and the training of educational administrators. Education and Urban Society, November, 1974, VI, p. 395.

belief that we must surrender our previous stance that increased organizational complexity could solve our problems, and aggressively re-think the value of simplicity.

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